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888] Wealth is not hoarded, but instead is always being put in circulation at the constant ritual feasts. And there is no reason why wealth should be saved over any long interval. Old age does not mean economic insecurity. For every old person is well taken care of by either his own children or by classificatory ones. The old people, men and women, are the most respected members of the community, and it is unthinkable that any one of them should be in want.

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● In this society of rich, but no poor, where only industry is required to secure the essentials of life, one may ask, What becomes of the lazy man? For as men vary in skill and intelligence, so also do they vary in industry. In Lesu, if a man is too lazy to work, he will not starve. His relatives will give him food, and should they grow disgusted with him, other members of the community will feed him. No member of the village would go hungry, unless there was some general famine affecting everyone. But while the lazy man will have a place to sleep, and food to eat, and can even enjoy life in his own way, he will be a man of no importance in the community. He will have no influence in discussions; it will be difficult for him to secure a wife (and the same applies to a lazy woman securing a husband); he will not be able to give big feasts; and he will have no prestige. In a society largely motivated by prestige, this is a serious handicap. Although the burden of the lazy man's support will be carried by his family (immediate and extended) and by the community, if the family gets disgusted, he will remain a man of no account, and will have no influence in the communal life. Some of the abusive and insulting language to those who have no wealth brings out the opinion in which they are held:

Umär atsuga ärup numka tsera: you are no good; you have no currency.

Umär atsuga ärup numka bul; you are no good; you have no pig.

These are the insulting taunts hurled in moments of anger,

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and show the position of a man who is merely willing to exist and to collect no wealth. The speeches of women at initiation and other rites about their lazy husbands give evidence of the same attitude. The impression is strengthened even more in the casual conversation and everyday life of the community. For instance, many people have discussed with me quite frankly the position of Ladawin, a young man who shows no inclination for work. It is freely predicted that he will not get a wife, and he is very obviously not looked upon as one of the coming men.

The economic organization is well integrated with the environment and the social structure, and it creaks less noticeably than the economic structures of many of our Western societies. Needs are provided for; there is no insecurity; individual skill and ability is appreciated; wealth is accumulated only to be redistributed again and to thus bring prestige. The underlying social forces—the principle of reciprocity, the desire for prestige, respect for the old, the kinship system—are the animating principles of the economic organization.

SEXUAL LIFE

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end of the island, near the white man's capital, where the natives have become more sophisticated, some girls go bush with their lovers and receive only a stick of tobacco in return. News of this has trickled down to Lesu, and the old women there speak scornfully of this new custom and of the cheapening of the girls thereby.¹ Yet husbands are not completely oblivious of the economic significance of their wives' *affaires de cœur*. On one occasion, in the not very distant past, many of the Lesu men went to Tabar, and during their absence the wives had intercourse freely with other men. The women thus collected much *tsera* and gave it to the men when they returned home. The husbands, I am told, were much pleased. One woman told me that her husband himself brought the first lover to her because he wanted the *tsera*, and she did not object. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule. Moreover, the husband in this case, now an old man, is by no means an avaricious or greedy man. Several times he brought me bananas and pawpaws, and refused payment for them, saying they were a gift in return for some tobacco I had previously given him.

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says "no," giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter.

Although these women are aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, they all told me very emphatically that all their children are their husbands'; for, continue the women, after they have had intercourse with their lover they have it the next day with their husband, and this makes all of the children his. Each woman earnestly

¹ In no way can the extra-marital intercourse for payment be considered similar to the prostitution of our civilization. In New Ireland a woman who did not receive the *tsera* from her lover would have lowered herself and be completely without prestige or position in the community.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

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from being an expert pig-hunter, and so on. While each individual participates in each occupation open to his sex (except that of the carver and magician, which are specialized ones), at the same time each person may express his personality by becoming more skilled in one than his neighbours, and so attaining additional prestige. 183 555

But even this desire for prestige is not completely universal, or rather it does not operate as a motive with equal strength for all individuals. In this society an individual acquires prestige mainly by being industrious and by having wealth, which he distributes at feasts for his dead relatives. But there are some men who do not desire prestige sufficiently to fall into this general pattern. There is the lazy man who spends his time in lolling around on the beach, who is not active in communal work, and for whom the garden is not of great interest. A man like this soon becomes known for his laziness, and will fall in the esteem of the neighbours. If he is married his wife will probably divorce him, and if he is unmarried he will find it difficult to get a wife. One young buck of the village is such a lazy person that everyone says no one will marry him. Although he will be a man of no influence or importance in the community, he will not starve, and he will be able to have a more or less happy life. His family will feed him, and if they get tired the other members of the hamlet will give him food. Should they become weary there still remains the rest of the village who will see that he does not go hungry. So the burden of his support falls on the community as a whole. There are very few such lazy men, however—one or two in a village—and it is not more than the community can easily carry. 183 558

Just as industry gives a man prestige, so is generosity considered a desirable trait. And most men fit into the social pattern and are generous in their economic transactions. 183 571
But we saw how in the distribution of wealth upon the sale

MORTUARY RITES IN NEW IRELAND

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have no effect on the *tinualo* (ghost), the *gas* (double), or anything connected with the dead person. The rites, while nominally carried out in honour of the dead person, seem to have as their real function to increase the prestige of the survivor. Over and over again I was told that if the *malangon* was not made, the clan relative who should have made it would fall in prestige, that he would be the object of much gossip, and that everyone would say that he did not have sufficient wealth to make one. Nothing more hurtful to a native's prestige than this could be said.¹²

Besides the *malangon* feasts there are many other feasts given after death over an indefinite period of years. They are made usually by one of the relatives of the extended family who observed the sleeping or sexual taboos immediately after death. The maternal nephew and the son, if the dead person is a woman, are the most frequent givers of these feasts. Many other feasts, which have an obvious purpose not connected with death, are held in the cemetery and are considered in some way not very clear to me to be for all the dead buried in that cemetery. A feast given on the occasion of a child having its first tooth, or one held simply because there is plenty of food, will be held in the cemetery and is considered in some subtle manner to be held for the dead buried there as well as for the explicit reason given.

To summarize the description of the rites, it has been shown that the chief mourners are the parents, children, and the consort. Next come the other clan relatives and after them the rest of the community. The direction of the rites and economic responsibility for them is in the hands of a close clan relative, the spouse taking no active part at all. Those observing the food taboos are the same close clan relatives and also the spouse. The sexual taboo involves a larger group, the whole extended family. Intimate duties connected with the corpse, such as washing and carrying it to the cemetery, are performed by people of the opposite moiety, who are not kindred to the dead person, and therefore not chief mourners.

¹²The subject of the *malangon* is a complicated one and a monograph might be written on this alone. The writer will present material in another context.